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expeditions entered the region from the Andean highlands, but several ended disastrously and none of them resulted in permanent colonization.[21] One of the few "friendly" gestures reported for the tribe during this time occurred in 1767, when they gave a Spanish missionizing expedition "gifts," which included the skulls of Spaniards who had apparently been killed earlier by the Jívaro.[22]

Interestingly, the present-day Jívaro seem to have no memory of their uprising of 1599. The only oral tradition that I was able to obtain which apparently concerned the Spaniards was this, from one of my oldest informants:

> A very long time ago there were the *ai apačī* ["*ai*" white men]. They were many. They were all of bone to their elbows and to their knees. They could move their arms and legs only beyond their elbows and knees. They had shirts and pants. They were fierce and tall. There were many, many of them, and they had women and children. All were the same in not being able to move except for their forearms and lower legs. They didn't have hats, but wore something like the helmets of the [present-day Ecuadorian] soldiers. These men had machetes of iron that they used for killing. They carried their machetes on the left hip. The machetes were somewhat yellow. These machetes had handles of human bone. They said that they had killed many whites with their machetes. They also had shoes. These whites had *maču* . . . they rode on top of these. I think these must have been horses. The *huarā* were scared of them. These whites also had *mua*. I do not know what they were.

The informant explained that the bone extending to the knees and elbows of the *ai apačī* was something like the shell of a turtle. It seems evident that he was recounting a tradition concerning men in armor and helmets and carrying swords. Since they had shoes, the informant discounted the

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recognized that making a full-fledged *tsantsa* would be more insulting to the victim's relatives and neighbors and thus more likely to bring large-scale retaliation. Because of the same fear of serious retribution, heads almost never seem to be taken of whites, but several instances are known in which the "hair" *tsantsa* was made from white victims. The Jívaro are frankly uncertain, however, whether whites have *arutam* souls and *muisak*, and it appears that their primary motivation in such cases is to celebrate the killing of whites.

Tsantsa feasts are also held using the shrunken head of a tree sloth. The tree sloth is the only non-human creature thought to be capable of forming a *muisak*. Because the tree sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore must once have acquired an *arutam* soul to have lived so long. At the same time, since the sloth moves in such a slow manner, it is further believed to have lost its former *arutam* soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The feasting and ritual precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human *tsantsa* but generally somewhat less extensive. The *muisak* of the sloth is believed capable of becoming only a single avenging form, a falling tree.

Sometimes a man who has personally killed someone on an inter-tribal raid has been unable to remove his victim's head before retreating. Under such circumstances, the killer cannot be a full, dancing participant in the first *tsantsa* celebration, but can borrow a *tsantsa* from someone who killed on a previous raid in order to host the two subsequent feasts. Through ritual procedure, the *muisak* of the new victim is believed to be made to enter the old *tsantsa*, and these two *tsantsa* celebrations are called "demon feasts" (*iwanči namper*) in recognition of the presence of the avenging soul of the victim even though a substitute head is being used. Occasionally, a tree sloth *tsantsa* may be used to perform the

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726 they drink from jars of beer placed before them, and the *wea* declares, "I am very hungry. Bring me plenty of fish." This [829] is a metaphorical allusion to the Achuara, who subsist on [226] fish much more than the Jívaro, and to the *tsantsa* which are [251] to be brought back wrapped up in cloth, much as fish are [727] brought from the river wrapped in moist leaves to keep them fresh.

701 The *kakaram* warrior sponsoring the raid is usually the ex-
624 pedition leader or chief. There is no special title for this role,
726 beyond the usual *untā*. There may be two war chiefs if the
[554] neighborhood that has the biggest representation in the expedition is one other than the sponsor's. The war leader(s) is theoretically expected to be strictly obeyed by the other members of the party, but only for the duration of the expedition, while it is in hostile territory.

[703] Obedience, even on a war expedition, is often not as rigor-
[787] ous in practice as it is in theory. Any member of the party who tells the war leader that he has "dreamed badly" and therefore would like to avoid participating in the attack, is invariably excused from such participation. In the actual attack, some of the inexperienced and less aggressive warriors are backed up by a few *kakaram* who encourage their advance forward.

701 Since the war expedition is normally composed of men
703 from a number of neighborhoods, some of whom are bound
602 to be enemies of others, the members of the party tend to
628 be organized into a "buddy system" in which pairs of close
726 relatives "cover" one another from assassination by another expedition member. In this manner, it is possible to organize a large force despite the fact that many of its members may be enemies. This system has undoubtedly contributed to the ability of the Jívaro to ally against outside invaders in the past.